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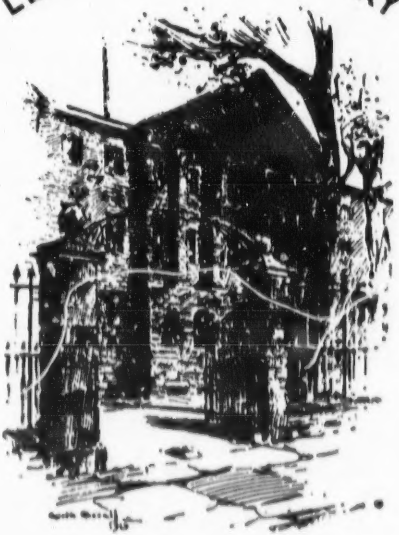

PROVINCE HOUSE

SUPPLEMENT TO AMHERST GAZETTE.

# UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCITY.

## SPEECH BY MR. CHAS. H. TUPPER, M.P.

*Delivered in the House of Commons, on Monday, March 19th, 1888.*

[REPRINTED FROM HANSARD.]

House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed resolution of Sir Richard Cartwright:

That it is highly desirable that the largest possible freedom of commercial intercourse should obtain between the Dominion of Canada and the United States, and that it is expedient that all articles manufactured in, or the natural products of either of the said countries should be admitted free of duty into the ports of the other (articles subject to duties of excise or of internal revenue alone excepted). That it is further expedient that the Government of the Dominion should take steps, at an early date, to ascertain on what terms and conditions arrangements can be effected with the United States for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade therewith.

And the motion of Mr. Foster in amendment:

That Canada, in the future, as in the past, is desirous of cultivating and extending trade relations with the United States in so far as they may not conflict with the policy of fostering the various interests and industries of the Dominion which was adopted in 1879 and has since received in so marked a manner the sanction and appoval of its people.

And the motion of Mr. Jones (Halifax) in amendment to the amendment:

That in any arrangement between Canada and the United States providing for the free importation into each country of the natural and manufactured productions of the other, it is highly desirable that it should be provided that during the continuance of any such arrangement the coasting trade of Canada and of the United States should be thrown open to vessels of both countries on a footing of complete reciprocal equality, and that vessels of all kinds built in the United States or Canada may be owned and sailed by the citizens of the other and be entitled to registry in either country and to all the benefits thereto appertaining.

MR. TUPPER (Pictou).—I was somewhat surprised, Mr. Speaker, this afternoon, after a statement made with such assurance and with such exultation by the hon. gentleman who has led the other side in this debate, that from the maritime provinces especially should come a wail for unrestricted reciprocity. I was somewhat surprised, I say, Mr. Speaker, under those circumstances that when a question said to be exciting such an amount of interest among the business people of the Maritime provinces was brought before us by a gentleman old in politics, a gentleman well acquainted with political strategy, a member representing his party from the province of Nova Scotia, to see him travelling back to the dusty journals of this House for 1867, in order to attempt to bring arguments to bear against the Liberal-Conservative party on a charge of having been at one time disloyal to the interests of the empire. It struck me as a curious commentary upon the boasted strength of their principles, initiated in bringing the main resolution before this house, that an hon. gentleman holding the position that the hon. gentleman from Halifax (Mr. Jones) the senior member from his county, does, that he thought it necessary, and thought it wise, to labor, and hopelessly labor for some minutes before the parliament of Canada with an argument so puerile and so weak. The hon. gentleman devoted some time to calling the attention of the house to what his contention actually was, that contention being that the language which he quoted from the mouth of Lord Elgin, representing the crown in this country, conveyed sentiments traitorous to the crown and sentiments at variance to the sentiment which brought about the connection of this country with the mother country, and which serves to this day to maintain that connection. It seems strange to me that the hon. gentleman had not read a little more diligently the journals of 1867, since he turned his attention to old and

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ancient literature, because on page 248 of the same volume he would have found that that parliament by him thought to be so disloyal, by him thought to be so in favor of sentiments of independence from the mother country, had resolved :

"That in the opinion of this house the interests as well of the British empire as of the Dominion and of the several provinces of which it is composed will be best promoted by the maintenance and consolidation of the existing union, and that this house confidently trusts that due attention to the interests of the people of the whole Dominion and a wise and judicious course of legislation will result in the general acceptance of the union by the inhabitants of the Dominion and conduce to the well being and harmony of the whole country."

In support of that resolution he would have found the names of gentlemen whom I hope it is not unparliamentary to mention by name, and which I do for convenience sake, the names of Cartwright, Mackenzie and Mills—landmarks that perhaps might have induced him to steer clear of a point such as the one he had raised I think the hon. gentlemen in this house will be amazed when they reflect that before six o'clock the arguments of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Jones) were so few, that the arguments of the hon. gentleman were so weak, that up to that time he had hardly reached the resolution, and hon. gentlemen will be just as surprised that a gentleman occupying the prominent position that he does in mercantile business in the province of Nova Scotia, and dealing as he said himself every day in the fish market, selling fish and buying fish, that that hon. gentleman, acquainted as he is with all the different branches of trade, and knowing the circumstances of our trade in that province, has not attempted to deal with the resolution before the House. So far as he touched the question of reciprocity he argued for a long time (and most of the members of the house agreed with him) in favor of the treaty of 1854. He went on to show that the interchange of articles mentioned and enumerated in that treaty had been beneficial to both countries alike, and that in the Maritime provinces there was a strong wish for the renewal of that interchange. No man to-day attempts to gainsay that statement. But when for a moment the hon. gentleman did allude to the resolution before the house he showed, as strongly as he could show, the strength of the position of this side of the house on that question. Then he said if this contemplated move, this contemplated turn of affairs, "change of front" I think he called it, meant direct taxation, that he for one would call" "stay your hand." Yet he had the direct statement made by his leader in this debate, he had a long and able argument before him to show that direct taxation was not such a terrible thing. He had before him the unmistakable utterances of the hon. member for Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) that direct taxation would ensue from the passage of this resolution.

Mr. CHARLTON—No.

Mr. TUPPER (Pictou)—I quote his words to do him justice :

"Can they afford for the sake of gaining advantages amounting from fifteen to thirty millions to submit to a direct taxation of two millions or three millions temporarily. I should say if the necessity existed the people would cheerfully submit to the impost."

Mr. CHARLTON—Notwithstanding, I distinctly said that it was my belief direct taxation would not be resorted to.

Mr. TUPPER (Pictou)—We have had the expression of the belief of those hon. gentlemen oftentimes before. We have also the experience between 1874 and 1879 that no calculation ever made by the financial leader of that party, in reference to either the revenue or taxation, was ever borne out by the facts, and that no prophecies ever made by him at any one time were ever verified by our experience in those sad and troublesome years. It did amuse me to-night, and I am sure it amused hon. gentlemen in this house generally, to hear some of the sentiments enunciated by the senior member for Halifax (Mr. Jones), He apparently, to use an old phrase, came "cringingly" up to one fact that stared him in the face, and that was that he had to take back a great many sentiments and a great many principles propounded by him in public in his own province, and in this house, and in the chamber of commerce of the city he represents. He knew, and therefore feared that those utterances would be brought against him, and he pretended to go over the whole of them, stating some of them, and endeavoring to follow his leader by spurning and treating with contempt any charge of inconsistency. But it did amuse, Mr. Speaker, and it somewhat pleased me as a Canadian, to hear the hon. gentleman, who, within this house, last session, indignantly denied that he was a Canadian in any other sense than by an act of Parliament which he abused and which he vilified, declare to-night, after his leader from Queen's, Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) that he was going to follow the

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banner that had upon it the inscription "Let us consider the interests of Canada first," and not only so, Mr. Speaker, but I remember that this hon. gentleman fought under a banner only a year ago—hardly a year ago—which had inscribed upon it "Nova Scotia for the Nova Scotians against Canada for the Canadians"; under a banner upon which was inscribed the words "Don't forget that repeal means reciprocity; only by repeal can we get reciprocity," and yet he adds to this new banner which he flaunts in the air to-day the words "reciprocity or repeal," thus reversing all of the mottoes and every old standard in that respect. No one can blame him. His leader in this debate, the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has boldly announced that there is a complete change of front, and that his party are a unit upon the principle to which they were diametrically opposed a short time ago. I ask you Mr. Speaker, in all earnestness, and I ask through you the people of this country, whether hon. gentlemen in this house representing the interests of Canada, representing the interests of their constituents, can so glibly go behind a record? I ask you, Mr. Speaker, if it is merely a charge of inconsistency with which they are now met? In my opinion the position of the Liberal party, as announced in this house and in this debate, is of a far more serious character than that which they suppose. They cannot go behind the record in that manner. They cannot say that what they thought a few years ago or a year ago can be all upset now. The hon. member for South Oxford said he would not waste time over charges of inconsistency. I say that the charges standing against him to-day, brought in this debate and still unanswered, are charges of a gross breach of faith on the part of the great political party for which he speaks—charges of a violation of distinct and emphatic pledges made by the leaders of his party all over the country more than a year ago to capital and labor, which have embarked so much in this country under those pledges. From 1867 almost down to 1887 every capitalist and laborer in Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, had the right to believe that both political parties in the country were pledged to reciprocity in the natural products of the two countries, and no other. Not only by the statements of their leader at Malvern, but by resolutions moved in this house, it is clear that both parties in this Parliament had pledged to the manufacturing interests that their money was safe.

An hon. member—No.

Mr. TUPPER (Pictou)—An hon. gentleman says "no," but he in his position is bound to say "no" to any proposition propounded by us in this debate. Hon. gentlemen opposite are in a desperate position, and they are safe to say "no" when their late leader is on the other side of the ocean. But that leader, when he said he spoke not only for himself, but for the party he represented, and especially for Sir Richard Cartwright—for he named him—that leader pledged his party not to play the bull in the China shop if they were returned to power at the last election; but you have never seen more furious bulls than the hon. gentlemen who have attacked the manufacturers and the vested interests of his country. They speak as if these men alone are guilty of these horrible combinations in trade, although they know that guilds have invaded other countries than Canada, even England, the mother of free trade. But it is a serious charge which I bring against these hon. gentlemen, and it cannot be answered in a flippant manner, but must be squarely met; and I will ask the house to listen to some proofs which I will adduce in support of it. We had an admitted organ of the Liberal party in 1880 using this language:

"What is the main promise of those who wish to detach the Dominion from Great Britain in order to make the country a preserve for Yankee manufacturers, who are totally unable to compete with British manufacturers on fair terms? That the producers of our raw exports may gain free admission to a market of 50,000,000 people. The inference which it is hoped that ignorant people will draw is that the whole American people would straightway wish to purchase Canadian produce if a Zollverein were established. But free admission to the markets of California, Oregon, Nevada, Idaho, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Kansas, Missouri, Kentucky, Arkansas, and dozens of other states would cause about as much Canadian produce to be sold there as could be sold to the inhabitants of the moon. Of the 50,000,000 people assumed to exist in the United States how many live in a locality to trade with Canada? Parts of the half dozen states lying east of longtitude 90° and between parallels of latitude 40° and 45° contain the people with whom we are asked to form a commercial union, taking their manufactures at exorbitant prices. One little corner of the 'market of 50,000,000 people' is offered to Canadians as the price of their national extinction! Men who advocate a base surrender of their country for money do not cease to be disgusting though they become also ridiculous when it is evident they are duped by their own sordid imagination."

I am reading from the Toronto *Globe*. Again on June 8, that paper said:

"Who can name any great staple that do not command as high a price in England

in the United States? The American farmer gets no more for his grain than his Canadian competitor, as is evident from the fact that both send their produce to the English market. It may be said that Canadian barley would rise in price if admitted free to the American market. How long would the enhanced price be continued? Only till a greater breadth of Canadian soil was devoted to raising the grain."

Then, again, the same paper said:

"The average yearly value of fish exports from Canada during the seven years between the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty and the fiscal operation of the Treaty of Washington, from 1867 to 1873, was $4,003,375, of which $1,137,839 worth was imported into the United States, and $2,865,535 worth was absorbed by other markets. Thus, under a tariff meant to be prohibitive, 28 per cent. was marketed in the Unitrd States, and 72 per cent. in other countries. In the six years which have transpired since the removal of duties under the Washington Treaty, from 1874 to 1879, these exports have averaged $5,971,887, of which $1,720,156 worth was imported into the United States, and $4,251,731 worth found other markets. The precentage to the United States was a trifle over 28, and to other countries was a fraction over 71. Whilst the annnal increase of fish trade during this latter period average $1,958,512, only $582,317 worth represents exports to the United States, the business with other markets having increased to the extent of $1,386,196 yearly average.

It went on to show that the Americans paid any duty which they placed on Canadian fish. That was the position of the organ at that time, and it is perfectly reasonable for hon. gentlemen to claim that they were not on every occasion, perhaps not on any occasion, to be held bound by the utterances of that paper. But, as I can show, that paper voiced not only the opinions of the party, but of the country in the most unmistakable manner. The senior member for Halifax has admitted that he has made statements contrary in spirit to the arguments he now advances, and he does not hesitate to tell us that his political morality is of that high order that, under the exigencies of the case, he felt that it was justifiable that we should deceive the Americans—it was not right that we should stand up in the face of day and tell the truth about the state of trade in Canada, we had to mark carefully the effect that utterances of ours would have on the Americans; and he fulminated charges against the leader of the Government and other men in the Cabinet, because in discussing grave questions in this house they had given expression to their thoughts. And this political moralist confesses as much as that he has supported the statements I have made; but whether he confesses it or not, I will show from the record that it is impossible for him to gainsay the fact. For instance, when the Washington treaty was before the house—and I may say that this extract as well as some others the hon. gentleman took care not to read—the hon. gentleman said:

"He felt as a representative from Nova Scotia that, however anxious he might be for the establishment of reciprocal trade relations with the United States on fair terms, he was not willing to give the United States everything that we had to offer as an inducement to reciprocity. If we gave them permission to fish in our waters, we put them in competition with our own fishermen."

Again, the hon. gentleman said, when a resolution on this subject was before the Chamber of Commerce:

"That the Chambers of Commerce at Halifax unite with the Board of Trade in St. John in requesting the Dominion Government to take prompt and effective steps arrange a reciprocity treaty with the United States and to make efforts to secure advantageous trade relations with the Spanish and West Indian Islands."

The hon. gentleman, then a prominent member of that board, and previously a member of the Dominion Government, used the following language:—

"He thought that too strong an expression of opinion might injure our prospects. He believed in the maxim: never to be too anxious to make a trade. In speaking at a public meeting, he referred to reciprocity in the West Indies. That was the larger and more important question."

And yet, sir, you heard to-night the hon. gentleman declare, in loud, stentorian tones, that the American market is the only market for those poor fishermen who lit their lamps and went out to sea in their little boats in early morning. To-day he tells us that the American market is the only one for those fishermen, but he did not hesitate on a former occasion, when it suited his purpose, to tell the Chamber of Commerce in the city where he lives, that to obtain control of the West Indian market was the important question for the fishermen of the Maritime provinces. Again he is reported, in his own organ, the Halifax *Chronicle*, to have said:

"Hon. A. G. Jones said he had come to listen rather than to take part in the discussion, but thought it was well to be careful how we proceeded in this matter. The cause might be injured by being too strong in expression. There was an old adage that it was not well to be too anxious for a bargain. No person believed in reciprocity more than he, but he thought the exercise of caution might be the wisest course, that was all. He found that no one in the Dominion objected to a reciprocity treaty with the United States on fair terms."

What was the hon. gentleman's object, may I ask to-night, in indulging in the strong expressions he made use of as to the absolute dependence of the Maritime provinces in the United States markets? What was his object in taking this stand to-night, and calling on us to appear in an abject manner before a rich and powerful country which has in view many ambitious and far-reaching projects. It was not well, he said, before the Chamber of Commerce, to be too anxious, but we should take a wiser course. He then found that no one in the Dominion objected to a reciprocity treaty on fair terms and we have utterances by the hundred of a similar character from hon. gentlemen opposite up to the very time when, as now, it seemed probable that we would have reciprocity ultimately, that we would have a reciprocal tariff on fair terms; up to the time when all this seemed possible, as it does now, you had all these hon. gentlemen, all over the country, declaring this was not a political question, declaring that they were all one on the questions of reciprocity with the United States But the change of base to-day is sudden. It comes after a general election, when that party, driven to desperation, are now hunting daily for a policy, and almost daily proposing a new one. "For ways that are dark and tricks that are vain" that party has proved itself most peculiar. The hon. gentleman tells us to-night he did not believe in commercial union. He read from his scrap book what he said to some gentlemen who visited him in his store at Halifax. That hon. gentleman, as we all know, has a considerable influence with the Halifax *Morning Chronicle*, which is supposed to be the exponent of his views. He has told us: "I do not believe in commercial union, and neither party would, I believe, agree to it"; but his organ, the Halifax *Chronicle*, did not hesitate, time and again, to use language which I would not like to use in reference to the hon. gentleman, when it said that "the Canadian who opposes commercial union is a natural-born sneak and coward." We know, and I must mention it in justice to the writer of these lines in the *Chronicle*, that an hon. gentleman on the back benches had the temerity, was plucky enough, to introduce a resolution, going the whole length of the opinions of an hon. member who is more pliable, the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), a resolution going straight for commercial union. How did hon. gentlemen opposite treat this man, who, according to the Halifax *Chronicle*, was not a natural-born sneak and coward. They told him to withdraw his resolution and go in for that sentiment which the organ of the senior member for Halifax has characterised as that of a natural-born sneak and coward. Language of that kind from the friends of hon. gentlemen opposite is, I think, unfair, and on their behalf I repudiate it! I do not think it is fair criticism! Now, we had a very important utterance from the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), who spoke at some length on reciprocity the other day, and who indulged in many arguments which are quite tenable by hon. members on this side, in vindicating the old reciprocity treaty and dilating on the advantages which the people of the island derived under it of sending their potatoes and other articles where they pleased. That hon. gentleman representing the maritime contingent in 1885 in this house, on the Liberal side, moulded together all these expressions of opinion, blended together these different views from the different chambers of commerce throughout Canada in favor of the old reciprocity treaty, and I would bring before the house the language the hon. gentleman used in support of the point I am endeavoring to make. He alluded to the resolution of the Chamber of Commerce which I have read, spoke of the desirability of a renewal of the treaty of 1854, and strongly favored making the fisheries a basis and measure for further commercial relations, concluding an interesting speech and able argument with the following resolution :—

"In view of the early termination of the fisheries articles of the Treaty of Washington, this House is of opinion that negotiations should be opened with the United States of America, as well for the renewal of reciprocal relations accorded by that treaty of American citizens and British subjects respectively, as for the opening up of additional reciprocal trade relations between Canada and the United States, and that in the conduct of such negotiations Canada should be directly represented."

He cited, as I have said, the strong opinion in the Maritime provinces in favor of a renewal of the old Reciprocity treaty; and later on, the ex-leader of hon. gentlemen opposite, speaking for the whole party, stated that the policy of his party was the policy of a tariff for revenue purposes only. He contended that he was consistent, inasmuch as it was no new departure, because the Government, through its extravagance, had made it necessary to raise a certain sum per year, and he could not see for the life of him, hav-

ing studied the matter in every aspect, how that tariff could be materially interfered with, and he pledged his party at Malvern, as strongly as any statement of his could pledge it, that even if his party came into power, he would not play the bull in the China shop, but would respect vested interests and only abolish the duty on coal and cornmeal. I ask again, how is it, after these pledges to the people, after this declaration of policy, not only from the mouths of the statesmen of that party, but by their resolutions in this house, they should propose now this entirely new departure, as it is declared to be by the senior member for Halifax. The question of the tariff and of reciprocity was threshed out, as many others in this debate have been threshed out, by the people at the polls; and they understood, no matter how loudly demagogues may rant, that we could stand by the National Policy and at the same time stand by the interests of those concerned in the natural products of the country, and that we could, with the consent of the people and with their desire, as soon as possible, obtain reciprocity in natural products with the United States. As a Canadian, I blushed to hear the hon. gentleman who opened this debate take the position, in support of his resolution, to induce the people of this country to favor unrestricted reciprocity, that this country was in a state of retrogression, and that our position was not satisfactory. He told us, it is true, that great economic changes had taken place. He attempted to justify this change of base, not by argument, but by the statement that it was due to great economic changes, and that, therefore, the charge of inconsistency was a weak one; but he alluded to the economic changes which took place between 1867 and 1887; he alluded to none, he could cite no such changes between 1887 and 1888, and 1887 is the time when these pledges were put solemnly before the people. Unlike Mr. Wiman and Mr. Butterworth, who have shown much more skill in managing this question, and who are endeavoring to persuade some of our countrymen to get into the position into which the American manufacturers wish them to get, he argued by the hour to show that we were going metaphorically to the dogs in Canada, and that the people would be benefited by any change. I deny, and I deny emphatically, that the country is retrograding, and hon. gentleman has been able to maintain that position by any statistics which have been laid before us. We have been told with what skill some gentlemen can manipulate statistics, and that you can prove anything by statistics. So you can. It depends on the honesty with which you use them. I will not weary this house by showing the credit side in contrast to the side of the account which those hon. gentlemen have placed before the peopte, to sicken them, to take the heart from them, to fill them with despondency and despair, and to make them feel that any change would be a change for the better. I will call before the house some hon. gentlemen occupying official positions in this country. I will call before the house as witnesses hon. gentlemen from one end of the country to the other whose position cannot be questioned, statesmen occupying distinguished positions in this country, and I will cite their statements as to the condition of Canada. The testimony which I can produce is such as will bring pride in the heart of any honest Canadian or any true lover of his country. I will begin by a gentleman whose praises are often sung by hon. gentlemen, I will begin by citing the language of Mr. Mowat, the Premier of Ontario, who is, I take it, in full accord with these gentlemen in their political schemes, and who would do anything, I take it, that he could do, in any justifiable manner, to enable them to obtain power; but when he met the happy Canadians in another part of this country on that day in last July, which seems to be such a black and dark day to hon. gentlemen opposite only in this debate, that hon. gentleman was able to say, and say truthfully:

"If they compared their Dominion with the United States, they would find that they had nothing to be ashamed of. (Hear, hear.) A comparison of the statistics of both countries for the past half century would show that the percentage in every department was greater in Canada than it is, on the aggregate, in the United States; and as Canada had prospered in the past, so she would in the future."

Mr. TUPPER (Pictou).

Would we have heard the hon. gentleman on that side of the house using language of this kind in this debate without thinking that there was mutiny in the ranks? Would you not have thought that any hon. gentleman who used that language, must have gone behind the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) and must be advocating, as he is, some scheme different from that of the leader. Allusion had been made to another gentleman, the Minister of Education

of the Province of Ontario, a well-informed man, an able man, a man who is proud of his country, a man with Canadian pluck and Canadian vim, and a man who is enabled to look at Canadian affairs with hope and to take a good view of what has taken place in the past and of what is probable for the future. That hon. gentleman, whom I had the pleasure of meeting a short time ago, uttered then the same sentiments as those which I quote. They have been alluded to before, but I am bringing forward the words of gentlemen who occupy a position in this country which I have not, gentlemen whose words cannot be confuted by hon. gentlemen opposite. The hon. gentleman, who sat for a long time in the House of Commons, and who is now in an important position in the Government of Ontario, was called face to face with Mr Chamberlain during the short stay which that gentleman made in Canada, and like all Canadians who are proud of their country, he was able to make a good showing for Canada, and was able to tell that distinguished gentleman from England that—

"It is Canadian enterprise that has made this country. It is a great deal to have done that. Had he seen it fifty or forty, or, perhaps, thirty-five years ago, or thirty years ago, when our forests were unbroken, when our industries were undeveloped, and when we had scarcely a mile of railway, he would have said that not even the most enthusiastic and sanguine expectations could have hoped for a condition of national prosperity such as we have in Canada to-day.

He also said:

"There is abroad a spirit——"

Is it a spirit of despair, as the hon. gentleman would tell us, a loss of national hope and a feeling of dependency upon our neighbors? Not so. He says:

"There is abroad a spirit of enterprise which only awaits the natural growth and development of ordinary opportunities and time, to produce results which we can scarcely dare even to imagine in case we should be charged with exaggeration or perhaps something worse. There are $174,000,000 in our savings bank, and of paid-up capital of our railways there are $623,000,000. We possess all the advantages of civilization, and are surrounded by all those influences which tend to make up a peaceful, happy and contented people. I am glad he has seen these things, for it has sometimes struck intelligent Canadians, when they have been visiting the old country that among Englishmen—though not of course, among those of Birmingham, (laughter)—there exist very erroneous ideas with regard to the civilization and comforts and happiness of the Canadian people."

And that is the language used in 1888, by a leader among the gentlemen who stand up here and sing, as the hon. gentleman who spoke last sang, mournful ditties in reference to the condition of our people! So in advocating this commercial union, or unrestricted reciprocity, or anything which may get our necks under the yoke of American manufacturers, Canada is referred to by the gentleman who has promoted it so much, in a pamphlet which is called Commercial Pamphlet No. 4, in which he takes issue with these hon. gentleman:

"By a uniform tariff against all nations, she has shown her real and complete commercial independence, and under the condition has made a progress and attained a position of which every Canadian has good reason to be proud."

Now, why do they not, like men, come and face the isue and discuss it on the merits, and not occupy the time of this Chamber and the time of this country by abusing this country, by minimising its resources, by telling us everything has gone wrong? Why do they not come up like men, as Mr. Wyman has done, and as I believe, as far as I have seen, Mr. Butterworth has done, and tell us plainly that the reason why we should join our destiny with that of the United States is not on account of our poverty but on account of our strength, and that, as enterprising men who have built up industries here, as Mr. Wiman says, and have built up a position which should bring pride to every Canadian heart, we will be benefited by joining our destinies with theirs, and marching on in the same line with them, of united prosperity. I could respect the arguments of the Liberal party in that line, but, instead of that, they take up the whole time by keeping as far away from that resolution, as far away from the particulars of that resolution, as far away from the tariff that would be framed under that resolution, as far away from the condition of the revenue which would result under that resolution as possible, and by talking to us about our miserable and wretched state. They know, Mr. Speaker, that their position is unsound, and is opposed to the latest utterances of any of them when speaking without strong feeling of partizanship. Now, I have cited some evidence; and I would recall, too, the eloquent language of the late leader of that party, a gentleman now regaining health, I hope, on the other side of the world. That hon. gentleman was able to speak in the most eloqnent language at Edinburgh, when he met an old colleague of Mr. Chamberlain's. He told Mr. Gladstone, and was able to boast in Edin-

burgh, of the magnificent strides in the path of progress made by his native province of Ontario. He used language that I wish to God we could hear oftener from him and from his colleagues in this house. It is the language used on this side of the house, it is language that would give hope to the young men of this country, and would spur us on to greater endeavors in the future. The hon. gentleman who leads in this debate, on the other side of the house, when he went to England to borrow money, when he asked the English capitalists to invest their money in this country, did not harangue them in the style, or upon the facts or matter, that he has done on this occasion. Every hon. gentleman is familiar with the bright side of the shield that was shown then, and the honest side, as well. I have given you, Mr. Speaker, some testimony that I think ought to carry weight as to the condition of affairs in this country, and to prove that the position taken by the hon. gentleman is unsound. I wish to quote, also, the language of the hon. member for South Oxford when he sat on this side of the house in 1878, on an occasion when he visited the Maritime provinces. I am not now dealing with the childish charge of inconsistency. In citing language previously used by the hon. gentlemen opposite inconsistent with the language used by them in this debate, I cite it for the purpose of the argument contained therein, and I cite it for the purpose of proving the insincerity of the movement. At Halifax, on August 19, 1878, when, as every one knows, and as no one has denied, the condition of affairs in Canada was far worse than it is to-day, when hon. gentlemen were apologising, so to speak, all over the country for the condition of affairs, this hon. gentleman, who now tells us that there is retrogression and that the country is getting into a frightful condition, used this language:

"That men who tell you that it is impossible to exist as a commercial people unless you have reciprocity might as well tell the United States that if they want to drive you into the Union all they have to do is to refuse you reciprocity for a certain number of years longer, which is the very best way that can be adopted of inducing the American people to enter into commercial relations with us. For my part I will deny that we are dependent upon them in one way or another. No Canadian statesman can do a worse service than to spread that idea among a great number of his fellow-countrymen."

What is the hon. gentleman doing now, Mr. Speaker? Driven, as I say, desperate by the serious reversals which he has met with at the hands of the people, kept out of office for so long a time, after having changed his political faith in order to obtain office, that hon. gentleman is now pursuing a course which he said no Canadian statesman worthy of the name would pursue, and so affect a portion of his fellow-countrymen. Well, we were particularly referred to the Maritime provinces. The hon. gentleman seemed doubtful whether he could convince the splendid yeomanry of this province, of whom I now speak, with whom I have had the pleasure of conversing, and whose condition I have examined, he seemed doubtful whether he could convince them that they were in this dependent, this abject, this poverty-stricken condition. But with that contempt for the Maritime provinces which seems, in this debate, to have characterized the utterances to which I am about to allude, he turned around and said he expected to hear something from the Maritime provinces. He expected to hear a wail of woe sounded from that quarter. Yet I will do my hon. friend the senior member for Halifax (Mr. Jones) the credit for saying that he rather turned the table on his leader for the nonce. He told him that down in the Maritime provinces the farmers—if I do not misrepresent his language—were not so badly off; it was the mortgaged-ridden farmers of Ontario who were suffering, and so his leader might turn his attention to his neighbors and not treat the Maritime provinces with contempt. I think I can fancy the reason of the sincerity of the hon. member for Halifax. I think I know why he did not talk about the drying up of the cities by the sea. That is a great phrase in the mouths of the Reform leaders in the east, that we are drying up in the Maritime provinces, that we are not as rich as we used to be, that real property has gone down, that assessment is low, etc. I think I know why the hon. gentleman drove slowly over the ground; I think he had read the words put into the mouth of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia at the opening of the present session, wherein his own allies in Nova Scotia politics, now snugly ensconced in office, stated that they were happy down by the sea, and that things were not going wrong. This is the language of the hon. gentleman's friend and ally, Mr. Fielding, put into the mouth of His Honor on the 23rd of February, 1888:—

"1. In welcoming you to the scene of your legislative duties, I am glad to be able to congratulate you on the fair measure of prosperity enjoyed by our province during the past year.

While in some quarters exceptional conditions have operated unfavorably, as a rule the labors of our people, in the various branches of industry, have been remunerative, and there has been an improvement in business which, it is hoped, will continue.

"2. I have particular pleasure in calling attention to the activity that prevailed in mining, an industry of great importance not only because of the capital and labor engaged in it, but also because of its value as a contributor to our provincial revenues."

The hon. gentlemen touched a little on another subject, the effect of reciprocity on the coal trade, that branch of trade which brings to the coffers of the Provincial treasury such a large proportion of its revenue. The hon. gentleman knows that there are members in this house from the coal regions of Nova Scotia that could meet him upon any ground such as that which he took, only for the moment, from Mr. Lithgow. And *en passant* I may say that I was surprised, I was amazed, at that hon. gentleman's attempting such a weak thing, at his laying himself open to the emphatic answer that he did. Why, sir, the hon. gentleman who formerly represented Digby in this house (Mr. Vail) read this old letter of 1879 from Mr. Lithgow, and yet he was answered in this house, and the hon. gentleman must have known what the answer was, that Mr. Lithgow took it all back after experience. Mr. Lithgow prophesied that the duty on coal would be of no advantage, he wrote as the hon. gentleman said he did, but he was honorable enough and sensible enough, after experience, to take back every word that he penned in that letter; and he sent it to the press, but that is not kept in the scrap book of the hon. gentleman opposite. They do not keep the bright side of the shield now-a-days, they have turned that away in hopes that it will rust. Now, the hon. gentleman ought to know that the statistics of his province are against him, if he attempted to stand up here and asperse too heavily the fair fame and commercial position of the Province of Nova Scotia. He knows well enough that he and I had to pay, as taxpayers, for the publication of a document issued after the so-called repeal victory, when these men—I won't say demagogues; perhaps it is not fair—but the word might be justifiable when these men had the hardihood to go all over the province from one end to the other, and talk about Nova Scotia as Ontario members here have not hesitated to talk about Ontario. These hon. gentlemen when they found themselves in responsible positions holding the seals of office, ambitious for a good record and a good showing while public affairs were under their control, published at the expense of the people of Nova Scotia an official document to be circulated broadcast in the British Isles. And what did they tell us of the condition of that country long years after the abrogation of reciprocity, twenty years after Confederation, twenty years after the time when we were threatened with commercial annihilation? These so-called anti-confederates, these so-called repealers, these so-called secessionists, these so-called annexationists, were induced to confess to the world that everything in the Province of Nova Scotia was lovely, that any man who had brains, that any farmer who had industry could obtain in a short time a livelihood, impossible to get, where? In the mother country alone? No, but in the American union as well. They issued a document a copy of which I hold in my hand; it was issued by the Government of Nova Scotia in 1886, and it gives the names of the members of the Government. I wish to quote from it somewhat at length to show the hollow hypocrisy of the party that has taken part of the colors of our party, and patched up a new flag at this time of the day. I wish to quote from this document also to bear out what I have said. At page 16 we are told:—

"There are plenty of farms already under cultivation, which may be bought at very reasonable rates, and any practical farmer with a small capital may at once possess a good and comfortable home."

Some hon. members—Hear, hear.

Mr. TUPPER (Pictou)—I am glad the hon. gentleman is pleased.

"And by energy, industry and enterprise may make for himself a fortune and position in Nova Scotia in a few years, such as he could not obtain in a lifetime in Great Britain."

Here we come to the poor workingman that hon. gentlemen opposite are so fond of commiserating, and I suppose the fisherman is included. The report says "he gets very well paid in Nova Scotia,"—and this is twenty years after the abrogation of reciprocity, and several years after the introduction of the accursed National Policy to which the hon. gentleman has so eloquently referred. On page 37—I like to stick to the record, and especially to the record of the hon. gentleman—this is the statement:—

"By moderate industry the owner of such a place can rear his family on better food probably than he could give them in England with the same expenditure of capital and labor. And that is about all the average Nova Scotia farmer attempts. He does not buckle down to his work in the severely continuous style

that is practically compulsory in England and Scotland."

The hon. gentleman tells us the farmer barely lives; but he does live, and when the hon. gentleman's friends were clothed with the responsibility of office they did not hesitate to say that the farmer does not knuckle down to work as the farmers in other countries do. The report continues:—

"If he had a reasonable rent to pay, as well as a living to earn, he would be compelled to work harder, to cultivate less superficially, to loiter less around the country store, to do less riding in his buggy, to get his women folk to make more butter and less pastry, and, in short, by dint of having to make a struggle to escape eviction and bankruptcy he would often land himself into a state of comparative affluence. But there is not much hope of any such result from the average Nova Scotia farmer."

The Government add that this description is furnished by Mr. Imrie; they add the following foot note:—

"Mr. Irmie's description of the average Nova Scotian farmer is pretty nearly correct, but in every county in the province there are farmers who are pretty considerably above the average, who have placed themselves and their families in more than comfortable circumstances, and have by their industry and attention to business acquired considerable wealth. Such men are second to none in intelligence and standing in the province."

What condition of affairs does my hon. friend now expect? Is he looking for some Utopia where a farmer can obtain more than that, where by honesty and industry he can obtain more than a comfortable living in Nova Scotia? Is he to roll in wealth without working; or what is the condition of affairs to which the hon. gentleman would prefer we should bring the people of the country? Next, as regards shipping. The hon. gentleman attempted to teach me, as one of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, some years ago, by his long speeches, that American shipping under the tariff of the United States and under their shipping regulations was being swept off the sea, the condition of trade in the United States and the condition of labor there was frightful to behold. But the Government of the day in Nova Scotia, in sympathy with, perhaps in council with the hon. gentleman, but at all events the Government of the Liberal party in Nova Scotia, said in 1866, in this report at page 17:

"Nova Scotia owns more shipping in proportion to the population than any other country, and our vessels do a larger proportion of the carrying trade of the world."

Mr. WELSH—When is that?

Mr. TUPPER (Pictou)—In 1866.

Mr. WELSH—How is it now?

Mr. TUPPER (Pictou).

"They may be found in every port of the habitable globe, loading and discharging cargoes on our own and foreign account."

I knew that the hon. gentleman would contradict me, but I did hope he would not contradict the official organs and publications of his own party. Well, then, it is not unreasonable for me to suppose that the hon. gentleman had some reason for passing lightly over the condition of affairs in Nova Scotia in supporting the resolution of the hon. member for South Oxford. I wish to complain of a habit in which the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), indulges as a representative statesman of this country. The comparison which the hon. gentleman makes between the condition of affairs in Canada and the United States is unfair to Canada and unworthy of him. I say that no comparison he has made has been fair—he has never acted as any reasonable man would expect him to act, when making a comparison. He compares our condition with the condition of the United States when they have sixty millions of people, at a time when they have startled the world by the leaps and bounds by which they have gone forward in the path of progress, at a time when they have reduced their national debt almost one-half, at a time when everything in that country so far as matters affect us are definitely settled. He compares our condition at a time when in the States all secession is gone, not at a time when, as in Canada, small politicians are endeavoring to set Province against Province. I say if the hon. gentleman were fair, if he had the courage of his convictions, if he were strong in the faith he preaches to this House and to the country, he would compare our condition with that of the United States when they had four or five millions of people and not when they have fifty or sixty millions. We may not live—perhaps we may—to see sixty millions of people in this country; but there are many men who have looked into this matter, whose views can be accepted, who have not hesitated to say that, judging from our past progress, our future will be even greater than that of our neighbors to the south. Let me give you, Mr. Speaker, a few statistics, not many to show and to explain the unfairness of this argument. For instance, he speaks of the frightful and alarming reduction in our aggregate trade, and he takes for his illustration two years. He takes the year

1873 and he takes the year 1887. He calls attention to the fact that our aggregate trade has dropped from $217,000,000 in 1873 down to $202,000,000 in 1887, and he tells us that is an alarming state of affairs, and that we must ponder over it. Well this so-called reduction being admitted, I must remark that he did not tell us the other side of the story. When the hon. gentleman took charge of affairs in 1875, when he refused to adopt the National Policy, when he attempted to hold our markets with a 17½ per cent. protection against the American competitor, the retrogression began. In 1875 it dropped to $200,000,000, and in 1876, when that hon gentleman was in power, to $175,000,000, and in 1879 to $153,000,000. That hon. gentleman, as an ex-Finance Minister of the country, standing here to explain honestly, and candidly, and fairly our financial condition, tells the house and tells the country that we are in an alarming state, and that there was an alarming reduction in the volume of trade. I will read you when, in 1878, this reduction was going on most rapidly, the statement made by that hon. gentleman vindicating the position of Canada, glorying in the position and boasting of our commercial strength, but he told the house then something different to what he tells it now, He told the house that these were not alarming features, although the volume of trade was being reduced. When he made his finance statement in 1875 he did not hesitate to say:

"It is not necessary for me to spend any further time in reviewing the volume of our exports and imports."

It had dropped then below the figure at which it now stands.

"I do not consider that it is any proof that a country like ours is retrograding in any way because there is a check to the exports. Many authorities who are entitled to great respect are inclined to think that we have rather overstepped the mark in our progress in this direction."

Now, Mr. Speaker, this shows the inconsistency and insincerity of the hon. gentleman advancing an argument like that as compared with what he advances to-day. I shall ask the house to bear with me while I vindicate the position of our country as compared with the United States. I compare the total trade, the volume of trade, as the hon. gentleman calls it, of the United States, when they had a population of 17,060,000, with the condition of affairs, and the volume of trade in Canada, when we have 4,000,000. In 1840 the aggregate trade of the United States rmounted to $236,000,000, or about $14 per head of the population. In 1850 it still amounted to $14 per head of the inhabitants, who numbered then 23,000,000. We have seen that, in Canada, during the year 1887, when the hon. gentleman says the volume of trade has decreased so alarmingly, that it amounts to $202,000,000 on the figures which he gives, and that this represents $40 per head for every Canadian in this country from one end of it to another. I say the purpose seems to me suspicious when an hon. gentleman of that gentleman's ability stoops to an argument so unfair, and an argument so directed against the position and against the reputation of his own country. Then about the exodus. How he delighted, and how every year he seems to delight, over the exodus which he says is taking place from the older provinces to the west or to the Western States. And he thinks that those features are alarming. Well, Mr. Speaker, we have his colleagues on record with utterances on this point which will give us hope. We have, for instance, the senior member for Halifax (Mr. Jones), when it was his business—it was his pleasure, I hope—to sound a different note in Canada, and when he did not think it was necessary to rouse sectional feeling, and to talk about the desire of the provinces to get away from Confederation. He came as Minister of Militia to Halifax in 1878 to render an account of his stewardship; he came and he admitted the exodus from Canada, which is admitted by all sides and cannot be gainsaid, at a time when the people were leaving the country in large numbers. The Minister of Militia said:—

"Why, we find those very people clamoring to get back to Canada. What is the reason for this? It is because those men, attracted for a time by the high wages offered in the States now find themselves utterly without the means of support and are desirous to come back to this country of Canada—this wretched country of Canada."

We have, fortunately, statistics giving the condition of our friends on the other side of the line. Taking the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and comparing them with the older Province of Canada—Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island—the statistics show that according to the census of 1830-31 there was a population of 1,953,717; in 1881 4,010,206, showing an increase in 50

years of 2,056,309; whereas the figures for the older Provinces of Canada show, in 1830 and 1831 1,065,255; under the last census 4,141,424, showing an increase of 3,076,209, as against 2,000,000 in the States I have mentioned. Now, Mr. Speaker, one is almost forced when the argument, as far as the statistics are concerned, shows different results, to think that the figures have been made to suit a purpose It reminds me of the story of the judge long ago, who, in dealing with a case before him, asked the counsel to explain where this land was situated in reference to which there was a dispute. One counsel said: "My Lord, we lie on this side" (pointing to one hand), and the other counsel said: "And we, my lord, lie on this," and the judge wanted to know what on earth he could do in the matter. The debate has shown that figures can be used in reference to the condition of the country in very false lights. For what purpose did these gentlemen ransack their brains and devote their ingenuity in a most unfair manner to try and show that a deplorable state of things exists in favor of a country which we all ought to try and advance in every way possible. Now, the hon. gentleman came to the question of inter-provincial trade, and as the Minister of Marine has devoted considerable attention to that, I do not propose to go very closely into it, but I again appeal to the record. I again ask the house to take some proof, in support of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, that an inter-provincial trade exists. My friend from the Maritime Provinces will say that there is less inter-provincial trade existing to-day than existed in 1878. Mr. Power, in his address to the electors of Halifax in 1878, said that the quantities of furniture, machinery, &c., sent into those provinces from the upper provinces were such that if tariff be increased, as the Conservative leaders proposed and as would be the case if the Conservatives were returned to power, those provinces would be flooded with Canadian manufactures of every description. The senior member for Halifax (Mr. Jones) in the same year, when referring to Nova Scotia being the slaughter market for Canada, speaking to the people of Nova Scotia said:—

"But where does the competition come from in regard to Nova Scotia manufacturers of which, I regret to say, we have not more."

They were in a bad state in those days—

"It comes almost exclusively from the old provinces of Canada."

Then you will see, Mr. Speaker, that the grievances of the hon. gentleman's allies in Nova Scotia are not against manufacturers as manufacturers, but against manufacturers as Canadian manufacturers, since Canadian manufacturers come from the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. The party opposite is welcome to an ally of that description. The hon. gentleman endorsed the statement of Mr. Longley that even under the present condition of affairs, those dried-up provinces, those provinces dependent on the United States, could get $10,000,000 from the States every year to send to Quebec and Ontario for those manufactures. Well, this is a happy condition of affairs, and there is nothing to complain of in that. The hon. gentlemen want the money from the United States and the hon. member from Halifax says they can get it. Then he tells us that this trade, which he is forced to admit does exist, is not a natural trade, but a trade forced over the Intercolonial railway at great cost to the people of Canada. Now, I will answer the hon. gentleman by a letter he wrote a short time ago, in which he insisted that instead of being a cause for complaint, these ruinous rates of the Intercolonial railway were actually too high and ought to be lowered. Only a year or two ago, he wrote to the press, saying:

"We did indeed complain of the rate on sugar being too high, both for us and for them, as has been abundantly proved during this winter, when all the sugar for Montreal, instead of being landed here, as heretofore, has, by the unwise and narrow policy of the Dominion Government, been diverted to New York."

I call the attention of the house to his particular reference to the rates on sugar and coal:

"The Intercolonial was built to promote and accommodate the industries of the country, and to facilitate the inter-communication at the lowest rates. It was never expected to pay as an investment any more than the canals of the west expected to pay interest on their cost—and my complaint is that the rates have always been too high, and that the department have not carried out the object for which the road was constructed."

He says again:

"I repeat my contention, therefore, that the rates of sugar are, and always have been, too high, both for the Montreal refiners and for us as well."

The rate was then 18 cents

"I am not disposed to find fault with the Government for making this reduction in tolls, as I think it wise policy that, so far as possible, our public works should be made the

hand-maid of commerce, and on the same grounds the rates on the Intercolonial railway should be very considerably reduced, so that the object for which the road was constructed may be carried out and all parts of the Dominion receive the advantages of it in that way."

Could inconsistency go further? Now, on the question of fish, the hon. gentleman, as was natural, dilated. He endeavored to persuade the house—and he based the statement on his reputation as a dealer in that article—that we pay the duty on fish, and from that argument the house was called to follow him through the rest of his argument to show that we pay the duties on the other articles we export to the United States. Well, sir, the day was when the hon. gentleman would have spurned that proposition, inconsistent as it is with the teaching of every teacher of free trade. The day was when he did advocate a very different theory—the true free trade theory—that the Americans paid the duty on what they bought from us. In August, 1878, when the senior member for Halifax was not the free lance he is now, ready to fire a shot at his own allies if by it he can gain an advantage in the Lower Provinces, when he was not ready to join any movement in the hope of getting his party into power—that hon. gentleman, holding an official position, at a time when his utterances were weighed more carefully than they are now, did not hesitate to tell an audience in Halifax that:

"Fish are sent to the United States and the West Indies, and are not affected in their value in any way by any regulation that may be imposed here or elsewhere."

I might go on quoting from the language of the hon. gentleman. Time was when he found it necessary to oppose a measure of reciprocity with the United States—to oppose the Government for obtaining the concession of free fish from the United States. To-night we hear a great deal from him about the advantages of free fish in the American market; we are told that the poor fishermen pay the duty to the American Government, and what a boom it would be to them to have it taken off. But the hon. gentleman opposed a measure to take the duty off in 1872, when he belittled the whole Washington treaty and all the advantages that Canada was gaining under it, as many members of the opposite party have done, as the hon. member for North Norfolk did as late as 1878, when his own friends were charged with not having done much in that direction. The senior member for Halifax at that time said: "He had found that under the reciprocity treaty, only 7 per cent. more of our fish went to the United States than when the duty was imposed," and he said the paltry amount given to Canada only amounted, in the year which he took for the computation, to the small sum of $94,000 on the quantity exported. But an hon. gentleman in this house, who holds perhaps a more important position in his party, who does not fight them in his own province or abuse or vilify them when he turns his back on them and leaves Ottawa—the hon. member for Queen's, who is an authority on fish, who played an important part in the negotiations at Halifax and there obtained some knowledge that he should now impart to the minds of those hon. gentlemen who are so fierce about the advantages of free fish—that hon. gentleman, in my hearing a few years ago, when speaking on another subject, said:

"I am not going into the great question of who pays the duty on the mackerel, the consumer or the producer. The general question has been debated very often in this house, and it is not applicable to this peculiar business. The question in this case depends simply on whether or not the home production at the time is equal to the home demand. * * * * I acknowledge that in some years we have to pay the duty to some extent, and I am now speaking, mark you, of only one species of fish, mackerel, for which the Americans give us our sole market, but ordinarily we do not pay the duty, because they do not catch enough off their own coast to supply the demands, and the price goes up sufficiently to induce us to supply the deficiency."

And mark my words, if those hon. gentlemen discuss the new treaty that has been laid on the table, you will hear them talk about the exhaustion of the fisheries on the American coasts, and then we shall be able to form the conclusion who pays the duty. It is true, the hon. member for Queen's only referred to mackerel, but the hon. gentleman who buys fish every day and makes his money out of them, did not hesitate to oppose the Washington treaty, and to tell this house, as a merchant, that it was of no advantage to the fishermen of the Maritime provinces. I do not intend to say whether he is right or wrong; I am not taking that line; I am exposing—and I believe I have succeeded by the proofs I have advanced—the hypocrisy of the party, which, in this eleventh hour, in its desperate position, has nailed these false colors to its mast. Hon. gentlemen opposite have expressed their love for the American manufacturers, and if we adopt their ideas of what they consider

beneficial for the American manufacturers, then we will go in and enjoy the benefits of this union, which some call commercial union and others unrestricted reciprocity; we will adopt some change or any change, so long as it will excite a popular feeling which will bring hon. gentlemen from that side of the house to this. The real design of our American friends is shown by the language of the advocate to which allusion has often been made. What did Mr. Butterworth say in the United States? Did he go through that country like a demagogue, telling them they were all going to ruin, that protection had ruined their shipping and their farming industry, and that trade combinations all over that country necessitated a radical change? No, and this is, indeed, a curious coalition which has been forced between Mr. Butterworth, an out-and-out protectionist, and these men who have been haranguing all over the country in favor of free trade. Mr. Butterworth is consistent. He declares himself to be a protectionist, he says he is always an American, and not one of those men who one day talks of tariff for revenue only and another about free trade, and again hold out the policy of unrestricted reciprocity. He says, I believe in protection; I believe the time is not ripe when we can safely meet the manufacturers of Great Britain in another market; I believe if we can gain the Canadian market we can sell there our surplus products and manufactures, and we can relieve the congested state of our markets at the expense of the Canadians. Of course this is my language.

An hon. MEMBER—Hear, hear.

Mr. TUPPER—If the hon. gentleman wishes I will give him Mr. Butterworth's own words. In a letter which he addresses to all the members of Congress, he uses the following language with reference to Canada:—

"The location of her great highways of traffic, lakes, canals, rivers, railways, open up to us at once an exhaustless supply of raw material, and a constantly growing market for our manufactured surplus."

Does the hon. gentleman doubt the statement that I made? We are to be a slaughter market for the surplus manufactures of the United States—

"While correcting the inequalities in our tariff, we can, at the same time, remove from the trade and commerce of our people every restriction and burdensome tax which is not essential to the proper protection of our home industries, or necessary for the collection of needed public revenue."

"I see it stated in some of the public journals that in case the proposed arrangement is consummated, foreign goods will pour through Canada into the United States. Whether goods were entered at a Canadian port, or in the United States, would be of no consequence, since the tariff would be the same on both sides of the line."

My hon. friend says he knows they will insist on that, but that is not contemplated in the motion. What he said at Charlottetown, he contends, is all right, but he was referring to a tariff, as against other countries other than the United States, being at our will and pleasure, and to expect they would have unrestricted reciprocity with us under this state of affairs was to suppose the Americans were arrant fools. But Mr. Butterworth is no arrant fool. He says that the Americans shall hold our market in the hollow of their hands and slaughter their goods as they please, from one end of Canada to the other. Our people have had a sample already of the slaughtering business that went on before 1878, and it will take more than the arguments and ingenuity of hon. gentlemen opposite to make them forget how our trade then suffered. Mr. Butterworth proceeds to give his record:

"I am a protectionist; but we will agree that protection properly deals with the unequal conditions which exist in the field of competition as between our manufactures and those of the old world. Those conditions, relating in the main to the cost of labor, and being so largely in favor of the plants of Europe, manufacturers there are in certain lines of trade enabled, in the absence of the influences of our protective system, to control the market at our very doors. But this reason has no possible application to competition with Canada; and the reason ceasing, the rule ceases with it."

Not contempt, mark you, when they talk of competition with the manufactures of Great Britain. No, they fear competition with the manufactures of Great Britain, but they only feel contempt when speaking of competition with Canadian manufactures. That is their opinion of the stage at which our industries have advanced; they have no fear of competition with us. Are hon. gentleman opposite prepared to follow in the wake of a man whose designs are admitted, who is honest in his attacks against Canadian independence if you like, or Canadian commercial independence. Let us now deal with the other apostle of commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity, or anything that will ultimately lead to annexation. Mr. Wiman has put himself on record. Mr.

Wiman says, as giving us some idea of what is contemplated when this consummation is brought about:

"The productions of Canada are so insignificant as compared with the total products of the United States that for many years they would not enter into competition to any serious extent with American products."

What a grand thing for our farmers! We were told by the ex-leader of the Opposition, when the National Policy was introduced, that it would bring about a few years of prosperity. The people took him at his word and adopted the policy which has since brought us continued prosperity; and to-day the opponents of the National Policy now bring forward a policy which will bring about the consummation they appear to desire, when we will be able no longer to enter into competition with the American producer or manufacturer, with any hope of success. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) told us in grand and forcible language of the magnificent condition of our American neighbors. He dilated upon the fact that they were the best fed, the best living, and the best clad people in the world. Well, was it by cringing for reciprocal relations with other countries that those people became rich, happy and prosperous. Was it reciprocal free trade that gave them their present comfort, independence and wealth? Was it by fawning and cringing at the feet of other nations and asking for help, that they became rich and prosperous? Or was it not by the adoption of the policy, which has been proved to be so successful with them, that we adopted ourselves and have followed in their wake ever since. But a new incentive is given for a change of policy. We are told that reciprocal trade will rid us of monopolies and combines. That, Sir, is very good claptrap. I have no wish to use that term offensively, but it does seem ridiculous that men in their sober senses, in an enlightened country like this, can argue that, under unrestricted reciprocity, combines and monopolies would be out of the question. Why every one knows that monopolies exist in England, and the United States, as well as in Canada; and every one would rather, if he is to be subject to a monopoly, that he should be subjected to one that invests its capital in Canada rather than be one which expends all its means in a foreign country. Hon. gentlemen opposite have tried to bring before the house an issue which has been fought out long ago, and which has nothing to do with the question under discussion, the issue of the National Policy. That is beside the question, in my opinion, entirely. Hon. gentlemen opposite ought to know that at one time the great Paisley works of Scotland held the monopoly of the thread trade in the United States. The Americans placed a duty on thread, the consequence of which was that the Paisleys were compelled to start works of the same character as their works in Scotland, in the United States, involving the investment of a large amount of capital in the State of New Jersey, in order to retain control of the American trade, and the result was that the Americans got their thread cheaper than they ever did before, and American labor was solely employed in its manufacture. The same cause has had the same effect in this country in other articles. The tobacco duty killed a New York monopoly which had control of our trade. The McAlpin manufactory had a large amount of capital invested in New York in the manufacture af tobacco which they sold in our market. The duties were raised. The result was a transfer of half of the establishment with some 500 hands, who are now busy in the city of Toronto. Does any hon. gentleman suppose that Toronto and Canada did not get the benefit of this transfer, and so it would be totally undone with this unrestricted reciprocity? And this is only one instance out of many which I might adduce. Do you suppose that the factory would remain in Toronto, that the taxpayers of that city would be helped by that industry or by any similar industry in that case? Certainly not. They would go back to the large centres, so as to be near, as hon. gentlemen say, the largest markets; and so they would control our market just as the anthracite coal miners are controlling Ontario since the duty was, I may say, at the request of all sides, removed from anthracite coal. It illustrates the strength of the National Policy when the coal owners of Nova Scotia could afford to have that duty taken off, and I have not heard that they have made any complaint on that score, but it has strengthened the National Policy in the minds of many when the result of taking off that duty has been, not the reduction of the price of coal, but the inclusion of Ontario in the district of Buffalo, and the increase in the price of coal. Knowing the effect of these rings, they want to rope in every Province under the power

of these rings in the United States. They are against Canadian combinations, if you like, but they are in favor of American combinations to any extent. When I heard the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) tell us, as the eloquent and able gentleman from Bruce (Mr. McNeill) mentioned to the House to-day, that we owed little to old England, that old England had not done much for us Canadians on this side of the Atlantic, and that we had to look out for ourselves—that is virtually what he told us—irrespective of the interests of the mother country, and yet wind up by telling us that no one was to accuse him of disloyalty, and reminded us that he was a Privy Councillor, that he was a sworn adviser of the Queen and had been a member of the Government, and that he was as loyal now as he was then, I was reminded very much of an old story in reference to a counsel in an Ontario court, who was pleading and was advocating the cause of his client as best he could, though he was not endowed with a superabundance of ability. One of our American friends from Ogdensburg was present in the court, which I think was held at Prescott, and he asked: "Who is that fellow?" He was told: "That is a Queen's counsel." He said: "Do you call that kind of a man a Queen's counsel? Then, from the bottom of my heart, and from my inmost soul, I say for the first time in my life, God save the Queen." And so many Canadians say under such circumstances as I have referred to God save the Queen. The senior member for Halifax (Mr. Jones) let the cat out of the bag, I think. He told us that we ought not to say very much because Sir Charles Tupper had gone as far as the hon. gentleman wished to go, and it did not lie in our mouths to take any position antagonistic to this resolution on that account. That proves the position which I take, it exposes the hypocrisy of this movement, it shows that there is no sincerity in it, but that it is a mere political trick brought to the attention of the country; but is it desirable that we should seek to have a second slap in the face in the same year? Everyone knows that that correspondence bears out one sensible interpretation. It is in the hands of everyone, and can be understood by everyone who can read, and whether Sir Charles Tupper, or the Liberal Conservative party, or the Government, wanted the freest and most unrestricted reciprocity or not, the statement was made to a gentleman who, as they say, had asked that we should treat on a commercial plan, it was made as broadly as any hon. gentleman could desire, and that offer was not met with more than a point blank refusal, as these hon. gentlemen say, with more than a statement, as they say, that they had not power to treat. They have talked a great deal about a letter which was written by Mr. Bayard in May, and they make a great deal of the fact that Mr. Bayard did not come to that commission armed, as he said he would be, with the power to treat in relation to this matter. What is the responsibility resting on this Government as to Mr. Bayard's instructions, or Mr. Bayard's action, or Mr. Bayard's commission? The hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar) read to-day the instructions which were given to the British plenipotentiaries to go as far as they now desire this Government to go. The offers which were made by this Government show that they were authorised to make the broadest offers for commercial privileges.

MR. MILLS (Bothwell)—Hear, hear.

MR. TUPPER—"Hear, hear." They made a proposition to treat in the broadest manner. That is there in writing, and nothing could be plainer.

MR. TUPPER (Pictou).

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell)—Then it was not treason.

Mr. TUPPER—The interruption of the hon. gentleman does not affect my argument that, no matter what their intention was as to the tariff which would be ultimately drawn, or as to the manner in which the industries of the country were to be ultimately affected, they put the proposition in plain, bold Anglo-Saxon: Will you make a trade arrangement with Canada—any trade arrangement, if you like; we are ready to receive a proposition, we now make a proposition that we arrive at an understanding on reciprocal trade. No language could be plainer in order to carry out that idea, and what was the answer? Not that they were not then authorized, but a distinct, unequivocal refusal. I see hon. gentlemen shaking their heads; perhaps I do not understand the Queen's English. I will read the letter, after I have given the purport of it, which is not only that they were not authorized to enter into that arrangement, not only that they would not accept the proposal, but that they would not ask for power to consider it, that they would not ask for the necessary instructions or the

necessary power to enable them to consider it.

Mr. LAURIER—They say they are prepared to renew the proposals they made before, in the letter of the 27th November, which is kept back.

Mr. TUPPER—I am referring to the official reply.

Mr. LAURIER—That is in the official reply.

Mr. TUPPER—I am not referring to the correspondence which preceded it.

Mr. LAURIER—That is in the official reply.

Mr. TUPPER—This is the official reply:

"While continuing their proposal——"

Some hon. members—Hear, hear.

Mr. TUPPER—My hon. friends seemed to be ignorant of that when they were discussing the matter, and now they want to have added to that the contents of a proposal of a certain date. Surely they are not so barren of argument, surely they are not so weak in their contention, as to add to the letter of Mr. Bayard, and to force the people of Canada to suppose that we have refused to consider a proposal which is not before the people, and is not in writing. What does the hon. gentleman mean by saying that this refers to a proposal made before that date?

Mr. LAURIER—He says distinctly that the American proposal was made on the 27th November, and that the proposal of the British plenipotentiaries was made on the 4th December, and then that there was a reply on the 7th December, and that is kept back.

MR. TUPPER.—Then the hon. gentleman wishes the people to imagine that that proposal was what he thinks it was. Is it not a little hasty on their part to ask the house to vote want of confidence in the Government because they imagine—and we know that they have imagined very curious things—that a certain proposal was made? What form of denial does the hon. gentleman want? Does he charge this Government now with suppressing a document relating to trade? Does he charge this Government now with doing a dishonorable, a foul, a cowardly act? Does he seek to bring his party to vote on a charge like that? I ask the hon. gentleman does he make that insinuation?

MR. LAURIER—I made no insinuation of any kind. The papers have not been laid before us, But I say the hon. gentleman has no right to say that they made such an offer of unrestricted trade, when it is proven that the American plenipotentiaries made an offer which was refused by the Canadian commissioners.

MR. THOMPSON—The hon. gentleman has been told time and again that the whole question in relation to trade was now on the table of the house, and the paper which the hon. member for Pictou has just read is to this effect: while renewing our proposals of such a date we decline to consider any trade negotiations relating to the fisheries.

Mr. LAURIER—Surely the hon. gentleman does not mean to say that we have the proposals of the American commissioners? We have the proposals of the British commissioners and nothing more.

Mr. THOMPSON—I mean to say that the hon. gentleman was told time and again that Sir Charles Tupper had asked the consent of the American plenipotentiaries and of Sir Lionel West, to lay on the table of the house everything relating to proposals looking for trade relations between the two countries, and he has done so; and it is disingenuous then to contend that the proposal that is referred to here, but which is not before the house, has any relation to trade at all.

Mr. TUPPER—I am glad I brought this subject up. I am glad now to know upon what material the hon. gentleman is acting when he makes this sudden change of base upon an entire supposition that has no foundation in fact. If he does not take the statement made by the Canadian representative, perhaps he may be able to believe Mr. Angell, on of the American commissioners, who makes a statement in entire accordance with the statement just made, that that propositien was refused absolutely. If my hon. friend had allowed me to continue, I think I could have satisfied him that no matter what theory might exist in reference to that proposal there was nothing in it of the nature the hon. gentleman imagines. The reasons that would prevent Mr Bayard or any representative of the American Executive from making such a proposal as is contemplated. Now, what are the words:—

"While continuing their proposal heretofore submitted—on the 30th ultimo,—and fully sharing the desire of Her Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiaries to remove all causes of difference in connection with the fisheries; the American plenipotentiaries are constrained, after careful consideration, to decline to ask from the President authority requisite to consider the proposal conveyed to them on the 3rd inst. as a means to the desired end, because the greater freedom of commercial intercourse so proposed would necessitate an adjustment

of the present tariff of the United States by Congressional action; which adjustment the American plenipotentiaries consider to be manifestly impracticable of accomplishment, through the medium of a treaty under the circumstances now existing."

And with a reason like that, can my hon. friend seriously press this theory, that in defiance of that rule, such a proposal was ever made or conceived? But if a further answer were necessary, we have it in the American plenipotentiaries declining to admit:—

"That such a mutual arrangement as is proposed by Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries, could be accepted as constituting a suitable basis of negotiation concerning the rights and privileges claimed for American fishing vessels. It still appears to the American plenipotentiaries to be possible to find an adjustment of differences by agreeing to the interpretation or modification of the treaty of 1818, which will be honorable to both parties, and remove the present causes of complaint, to which end they now—as they have been from the beginning of this conference—ready to devote themselves."

Well, Mr. Speaker, has it not been stated by hon. gentlemen opposite that the fixed and stated policy of Congress is now, and for some time has been, not to permit any such arrangements to be made by the executive? Is not the position taken in this debate that no authority outside of Congress can interfere with fiscal matters? If that position be correct, how can he suppose that, on the contrary, such a proposal as is suggested, could have been made, or was ever contemplated? I will not weary the house by reading, as I could, a resolution from Congress, illustrative of that. It has been admitted on the other side. The Judicial Committee of the House of Representatives, in 1885, solemnly decided that no treaty could be made by the executive of the American Government which in any way interfered with the fiscal matters of the people of the United States, that all changes in the tariff were to be discussed openly in Congress; and that has been the reason, as everyone knows, why, since the treaty of Washington, no such arrangement has been entered into by any country in the world by the United States, and that was a long time ago. Treaties had been made, but no treaty touching fiscal matters has been ratified by Congress since that day. Therefore, it is unnecessary to argue further to show how utterly impracticable is the step that the other side ask us to take. I have gone on to show the sinister object underlying their policy. But I wish to point out, in addition, that these steps taken by hon. gentlemen in this debate, the attitude adopted by them, are, according to their own opinion, calculated to prevent our receiving the benefit of a certain amount of reciprocal trade with the United States, and why? Everyone who knows that this party, the Government representing this party, is the only party that ever obtained trade advantages from the United States. They negotiated and obtained the Washington treaty. The negotiations for the reciprocity treaty in old Canada, were made by the Conservatives. We have the cause of irritation in reference to the fishery question so far removed that we have identified ourselves, our country, with the interests of a powerful and growing party in the United States. We now see a measure introduced into Congress in which nearly every article which we desire to be put on the free list—a great many of the articles of the treaty of 1854—are put on the free list, and when we are moving in this direction, is it wise, is it statesmanlike, is it worthy the Canadian people, that we should fall down and worship the Americans and tell them that if we fall short in this matter, we are left in a state of dire extremity? If there is any way, and I have the opinion of hon. gentlemen opposite to back me up, by which we might be excluded from the advantages of reciprocal trade, it is that pursued by hon. gentlemen opposite, which tends to drive us into annexation with the American Union. I was not astonished—some things did surprise me—that the financial exponent of the Opposition should take special care not to give any details, or any scheme, or any definite statement as to the way in which this unrestricted panacea business would work, because that hon. gentleman years ago, used to make a financial prophecy, he used to come down to the house and, in the same emphatic and loud manner, tell Parliament and the country that they could mark his words, and that the imposition of certain duties would give a surplus of so much, whereas the general result was a deficiency. At Halifax, however, the hon. gentleman went further. He came there to enlighten the people by the sea, for whom he has expressed unqualified contempt that emboldened him to use language which I was sorry to hear from the lips of any man in the Canadian House of Commons. The hon. gentleman came to Halifax, as Minister of Finance, to endeavor to rally his party in that province. He talked a little about direct taxation then. He tells us now, in his

opinion now, that there is no danger of direct taxation, but, even if there is, it would be a very good thing for the people. He went on to show it was the correct way of taxing the people, that it would make them more careful as to how the money was spent, and for a long time he argued in its favor. However, in 1878, the hon. gentlemen, knowing then a good deal more, perhaps, of finance and the working of the revenue than he does now, because he has been long out of office, said:

"If you deprive yourselves of your present customs tariff (17½ per cent.) you will have to resort to some method of direct taxation, and that of a very formidable kind."

I ask that hon. gentleman now, how is it that in 1878 it was a dangerous thing to interfere with the 17½ per cent. tariff for fear of being met with direct taxation of a most formidable kind, when now, as we well know, when the needs are such that a larger amount of revenue is required, he tells us, he does not hesitate to say that though you interfere with the 25 per cent. tariff, as it has been called all round, there is no danger of our having to resort the direct taxation? The hon. gentleman cannot explain this I feel confident. But he was more definite. He went into figures and, knowing how he has failed to accomplish the results he predicted formerly, I am not surprised that he comes to such a conclusion now. In that summer, as reported in the Halifax *Chronicle*, the hon. gentleman said:

"The National Policy was a loss of ten million of Customs duties which would have to be made up by direct taxation, equal to an income tax of 20 per cent."

I always felt a certain amount of comfort in the hon. gentleman's prophecies of gloom. I stated on a previous occasion to this house that, having studied the hon. gentleman's career with some interest, I had come to the conclusion that when he declared the condition of affairs in the country were very much down, they would be very much up, and I find as I live and grow older—and the hon. gentleman reminded me last year that I was very young—I have good reason to hold that opinion of him. The hon. gentleman told us then that, with the slightest interference with the existing trade of that day, direct taxation stared us in the face; and the hon. gentleman who sits behind him, who sat quietly in his seat while his province was maligned, said that if there was the slightest chance of direct taxation he would cry: "Stay your hands." Let us see if the hon. gentleman has the courage of his convictions. The hon. member for South Oxford, from whom I have quoted already, and the statement from the old speech of the late Minister of Finance of the Mackenzie Government, lead to the same conclusion, that there is considerable danger of direct taxation. I want now to deal with the charge of corruption, and I may say that the senior member for Halifax (Mr Jones) can be excused for going so often into this, because I have noticed of late years that he seems to burden his mind with all the charges that so disgrace the political hustings in Canada. Now, that hon. gentleman heard the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) charge as one of the serious dangers threatening Confederation, one of the causes of the threatened disruption of Canada, the bribery of Nova Scotia. He did not say, in so many words, that it was bribery under what is known as "better terms," but he alluded to the transaction known as the "Act for better Terms." He charged that, as the Toronto *Globe* charges it, as a bribe paid to Nova Scotia to keep her in Confederation, and naturally he thinks that the men who gave that bribe are worthy of condemnation. He indicted them, he charged not only the men who gave the money as bribers, but the province generally as being bribed, and he declared that it was that reason alone that kept Nova Scotia in Confederation. Will he be surprised to learn that, on the hustings at Halifax, the leader of the secessionists, the leader of one wing of the party in this house, said to the people that he was the man to whom the people of Nova Scotia owed the credit of the bribe, that he was the man most instrumental in obtaining better terms for Nova Scotia. He boasted of it; yet he sits quietly and takes that frightful slap over the face from his leader without uttering a single word. I have something more to say in regard to it, because there is no hon. gentleman who could keep quiet on such a subject. The hon. gentleman heard the hon. member for South Oxford asperse and malign a leader under whom they were at one time proud to serve. Instead of our being guilty of the bribery — the party to which I have the honor to belong—what would the hon. member for South Oxford think of this? If he believes the statement made by the senior member for Malifax (Mr. Jones) under his own hand, in a letter he wrote to the press in 1872, when the subject was much discussed—and then I thought it was discussed for the last

time—the hon. gentleman who follows his leader tells him that he was the person who proffered and gave him the bribe. The senior member for Halifax said :—

"What Blake and Mackenzie wanted was that the increase to our subsidy should be made as on the basis of our debt and public works, and had their advice been followed we should have had $240,000 per annum for ever instead of $160,000 as at present, $85,000 of that being only for ten years, five of which already expired."

Is the Liberal Conservative party to be charged with being guilty of high crimes, misdemeanors, and corruption, because that party offers only one-half the amount with which hon. gentlemen opposite would have bribed the province? But then the hon. member for South Oxford and the senior member for Halifax are accustomed to hold up their hands in holy horror in regard to bribes in the shape of subsidies. The railway subsidy they declare to be a corrupt expenditure; and I would remind the house that we have been told over and over again by hon. gentlemen opposite the same old story, that the granting of such large bonuses would inevitably lead to direct taxation. The senior member for Halifax denies that that they would cut off the subsidies. That is too dear to him; it is not the policy that he desires; but I am afraid his influence is on the wane when he has to sit and listen to attacks made on Nova Scotia by his allies, and stands up and assails the interests of Ontario and Quebec as he has done this evening. But the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) says that this retrenchment is to be based upon the stoppage of all the railway subsidies. "We can save," says the hon. member, "the railway subsidies and avoid any repetition of such little scenes as occurred in No. 8 a few years ago; we can save by putting an end to the system of bribery in giving grants to railway lines of $3,2000 a mile; we can cut off the whole thing with advantage to our Treasury, advantage to our markets, advantage to our country, advantage to our hopes in the future, not only in this world but in the world to come." Now, will the hon. gentleman resign his future in the world to come for the sake of getting on those Treasury benches? We have had a taste of the qualities of the hon. gentleman from Halifax (Mr. Jones); we have heard his speeches in Opposition, and we have heard his speeches when in power. Why, there was not a more liberal, large-minded man when he was in power in his professions as to what he would spend if he got hold of the public money. When he was in power the same hon. gentleman who advises retrenchment to-day (it is not permissible, I know, to allude to a past debate, but some of the hon. gentleman's most earnest addresses have lately been in reference to the advocacy of an increase of expenditure rather than to the decrease), in 1878, when running for an office, or running an election, at any rate, in the city of Halifax, there claimed credit not only for the agitation for better terms, but when a minister of the Crown this mild and subservient follower of the hon. gentleman who has defamed and villified both his province and mine, vilified him and myself and every man from that province, this hon. gentleman went down to Halifax as a minister of the Crown in August, 1878, and as a reason for support claimed on the public hustings "that the present Government," that is, the Liberal Government, "have expended $1,250,000 in Nova Scotia, during five years, more than the late Government expended in seven." But now it is a terrible thing for a Liberal-Conservative candidate to make promises. You must not say, according to the new code of morals laid down, that when you get to Parliament you will advocate the granting of a subsidy for a railway in your county, nor should you advocate the expenditure of public money upon post offices! Post offices and public works generally were alluded to as having been promised the electors in Prince Edward county. This is a terrible thing, but now we see that, in 1878, a minister of the Crown and the Minister of Militia of that day, the senior member for Halifax of to-day, said to the electors from the hustings at a political election: "That if he were elected he would use his influence to get the Government to extend the Intercolonial railway to Wert's wharf." It is wrong for us to promise that the Governmrnt will spend money upon public works, but it is all right for the hon. gentlemen opposite. It is all right for them to talk about retrenchment when in Opposition, but it was quite a different thing for them to practice it when they held the public purse. The same hon. gentleman furfher said, on this question of public expenditure:

"That during the time the late Government were in power"—

"The late Government" was the extravagant and the corrupt Government now in power—

"they had only spent on an average three

millions a year on public works, but during the time the present Government"——

Those hon. gentlemen who preached retrenchment and reform from 1867 down to 1874—

"they have spent on an average of six millions a year. That is the best evidence of the way the money is being expended by this Administration."

They gloried in the expenditure then, and of course my hon. friend would not go back upon the policy of aiding railways and local subsidies, because he knows that having regard to this question of bribery, he knows that he claimed the Government ought to do more than it has done in that province of Nova Scotia. He knows that he and his party have wrung the changes from one end of Nova Scotia to the other, to the effect that we have been neglected since Confederation in regard to railway expenditure, and that the Government ought to have built those railways long ago which they promised to build, and I say they are carrying out their promise in this respect as they have in all others. I thought the question of bribery was settled last year, when the late leader of the Opposition discussed the matter with the present Minister of Finance, and when the present Minister of Finance was able to read the language of that gentleman and that party's lieutenant in Nova Scotia, when he came down to a public meeting and promised there a far larger expenditure on railways to the province of Nova Scotia if they would only support the Liberal party. I thought that matter was threshed out then. It does seem extraordinary that this hon. gentleman's allies down in the province should have blamed us at public meetings for not spending enough money, and then formulate an indictment against us in the house for having spent so much. I think, Mr. Speaker, that this discussion will not be fruitful; that it will not aid us, at least with the United States, to obtain unrestricted reciprocity by washing this dirty linen of Nova Scotia, which the hon. gentleman has brought before the House of Commons of Canada, and which will bring neither credit to him nor to the people who sent him here. Now we have the record of the speech delivered by the hon. member for Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). He took up a large portion of the time of this house by telling us the other night about the effect this duty had upon our barley, and about our dependence upon the American market and that we had to pay a duty on all the products which we send into that market. When the late Government was in power, that Government which spent their money with such a lavish hand—when they occupied the treasury benches, when also the late George Brown had failed to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the United States, the hon. gentleman's opinion was of another kind. At Simcoe in February, 1878, he made a speech, and I ask the attention of the house to this, for the argument answers the very weak and disingenuous argument he addressed on the other side of the question during this debate. The hon. gentleman said:—

"It may be claimed that the agricultural interest has been interested by the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty. With one single exception the average prices we have received since the abrogation of that treaty have been higher than they were when the treaty was in force. In 1875 we exported 5,400,000 bushels of barley, and imported less than 5,000 bushels. Our business is in the exportation of barley; it may be that the American duty reduced the amount exported somewhat, but, of course, we cannot help that as we do not make that treaty and cannot reduce it, but that state of things will not continue longer. We have opened up a great export trade of barley with England, and England will take our whole crop. We can say to the United States: If you pay us the same price for this barley less the cost of transportation which England pays, you may have it."

He continued to point out that in reference to peas, beans, and other articles, it was the American that paid the duty, and not the Canadian. Now, then, Mr. Speaker, coming again to that speech that was addressed to us to-night by the hon. member for Halifax, (Mr. Jones), I would like to call the attention to the authority he has brought before the house on the question of the assessment of property in Nova Scotia. I think the hon. gentleman is bold. I think the hon. gentleman proved his boldness by quoting, in support of his argument on the coal trade, a letter quoted by the hon. the late member for Digby, which was answered by that gentleman's own letter; but he is a far bolder man when he quotes this statement of James Thomson, of the city of Halifax, in reference to statistics. Mr. Thomson is the man that came, in 1878, under the lash of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Jones). That hon. gentleman held this same James Thomson up to ridicule in the city of Halifax; that hon. gentleman amused his audience by picturing this man as a comical statistican and that hon. gentleman christened him "Baron Statistics." Now "Baron Statistics" is the hon. gentle-

man's authority to-night. James Thomson, when he wrote this article was against the hon. gentleman ; he has turned no doubt to his side, and having turned and made a somersault on unrestricted reciprocity the hon. gentlemon takes him up and quotes his statistics. On that occasion the hon. gentleman—and it would a help to our side of the discussion if he had repeated his argument—was also reported to have said :

"He went into the question thoroughly showing that the benefits of protection would be for the manufacturers of Ontario and Quebec."

Does the hon. gentleman repudiate that argument now? Does he say that protection is not a benefit for the provinces of Ontario and Quebec? As to Mr. Thomson, here is one extract from the *Chronicle :*

"Mr. James Thomson was dealt with in a manner that would have stirred the people to indignation against him, if they had not been overcome by the ludicrous aspect of the case."

They ridiculed him as a candidate for a judgeship; they ridiculed him for the manner in which he handled figures and called him "Baron Statistics" ; and yet the hon. gentleman asks the House to take his statements as to assessments. My hon. friend knows well, that in reference to that statement of Mr. Thomson's, two things can be said. If it be true, according to the assessment rolls of Nova Scotia, that property happens to have had a lower value in 1884 than it had in 1868, the hon: gentleman knows that the burning question in local politics in that Province is, how to get a fair and rational and sensible assessment, how to get the property assessed at its proper and true value ; and he knows that that argument is puerile and weak, whether it came from "Baron Statistics" or any other baron. He knows that property in Nova Scotia reached a boom value immediately after Confederation. He knows that the promises which he held up to ridicule as deluding the people as to the wonderful prosperity that was going to come to them, raised the value of property to an abnormal value in 1868, and the value has no doubt since gone down to its proper and normal level. But the hon. gentleman knows that the statistics I read to-night from the authorised publications of the repeal Government give a full and complete answer as to whether the province is poorer or richer than it was before. Now, I have taken up considerable time, Mr. Speaker. I have carried my remarks further than I intended ; but young as I am, and mindful of the rebuke I received in this house a session ago that when a member, authorised by the people of Nova Scotia, should speak, and when he should not, should be guaged by the years of that member, and yet remembering the liberal sentiment which pervades this house, I felt justified in taking up some time in quoting from the mouths of these hon. gentlemen and their friends throughout the country, to show that this movement, first of commercial union, now of unrestricted reciprocity, vague, indefinite, meaningless, about which hon. gentlemen on the other side are now squabbling and disagreeing among themselves, was nothing more nor less than a small and petty dodge of a very desperate and hopelessly beaten political party in the Dominion of Canada. These hon. gentlemen have made specious promises before ; but I will tell them in all these political wiles, as someone has said : "You can fool some of the people all the time, you can fool all the people some of the time, but you cannot fool a majority of the people all the time."

Mr. RINFRET moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 11.45 p.m.